

**SIDE B**

*Speaker: Eliezer Niyitegeka; Minister of Information and spokesman of the Government of Rwanda.*

To all citizens of Rwanda,

We wish that you understand the importance of the speech we have just delivered and help us by giving final warning to the enemies of peace. In fact, I repeat; all the pains that we accepted to endure cannot lead to a satisfactory outcome as long as there people who do not believe that you cannot give what you do not have. Therefore, for us to be in position to give peace to another, we must first of all examine our conscience (inaudible).

Often, we said that one of the weapons our enemy utilized upon their arrival and continues to utilize is creating division among you so as to take advantage of your disagreements to accomplish their plan.

Allow us to say that you look but you do not see, that you hear but you do not understand. So, should we call it ignorance. It matters little; the hour has come for you to wake up, you must be aware before it is too late.

Fellow Rwandans, we will not conclude this speech, we will rather suspend it. We will closely monitor your behaviour, especially the behaviour of everyone with responsibilities in the management of this country. In fact, all unusual behaviours shall be eradicated.

Once again, we thank all of you who tried to understand and assist us. Be more vigilant because we will never accept that bad prevails over good. Continue to collaborate, pray to God that he should lift us up. Long live!

Communiqué of the Government of Rwanda:

Today, 17 April 1994, the Council of Ministers met presided over by His Excellency, Jean Kambanda, Prime Minister. The agenda items were the following:

Problem relating to the administration of the country. The Council felt that since we are facing difficult times, it is necessary to appoint *préfets* in the *préfectures* without *préfets*, namely: Kigali, Byumba, Ruhengeri and Gisenyi.

After listening to the views and recommendations of the representatives of the political parties participating in the Government, the Council of Ministers appointed the following as *préfets* for the above-mentioned *préfectures*:

François Karera, *préfet* of Kigali *préfecture*;

Elie Nyirimibibi, *préfet* of Byumba *préfecture*;

Basile Nsabumugisha, *préfet* of Ruhengeri *préfecture*;

Dr. Charles Zirimwabagabo, *préfet* of Gisenyi *préfecture*.

The Council of Ministers also decided to change the *préfets* of Butare and Kibungo.

Sylvain Nsabimana was appointed *préfet* of Butare, while Anaclet Rudakubana was appointed *préfet* of Kibungo.

The Council of Ministers welcomed the presence of the current *préfets* of Kigali town, Gitarama, Gikongoro, Cyangugu and Kibuye. The Council decided to retain them in their posts.

Below is the new list of *préfets*:

François Karera, *préfet* of Kigali *préfecture*;

Fidèle Uwizeye, *préfet* of Gitarama *préfecture*;

Sylvain Nsabimana, *préfet* of Butare *préfecture*;

Laurent Bucyibaruta, *préfet* of Gikongoro *préfecture*;

Emmanuel Bagambiki, *préfet* of Cyangugu *préfecture*;

Clément Kayishema, *préfet* of Kibuye *préfecture*;

Dr. Charles Zirimwabagabo, *préfet* of Gisenyi *préfecture*;

Basile Nsabumugisha, *préfet* of Ruhengeri *préfecture*;

Elie Nyirimibibi, *préfet* of Byumba *préfecture*;

Anaclet Rudakubana, *préfet* of Kibungo *préfecture*;

Tharcisse Renzaho, *préfet* of Kigali *Ville préfecture*.

The Council of Ministers asked the new *préfets* to be at their duty posts latest on Tuesday, 19 April 1994. This *communiqué* was presented to you by Elieze Niyitegeka, Minister of Information and Spokesman of the Government of Rwanda.

*Speaker: a journalist*

... that he should address Rwandans on behalf of all bishops:

*Speaker: an unidentified bishop:*

Priests, the religious and all Christians of Kigali archdiocese anywhere you are, I greet you. We read in the gospel for the third Sunday after Easter that after his resurrection, Christ greeted his disciples, "Peace be onto you". In like manner, I greet you all by wishing you and your families peace. I join you all who went through the ordeal of losing their families and to those who were forced to flee and abandon their regions in Rwanda. These events were followed by the war and conflicts, which took away many people, including certain authorities, priests, the religious and other citizens of Rwanda.

I am pleading with all perpetrators of violence to stop the killings like Jesus asked Peter: "*Put your sword back in its place*", Mathieu Chapter 26, verse 52. In general, Rwandan wisdom considers that a regime that leaves crimes unpunished is half-toppled. Jesus asked us not to act in that manner, rather he ordered us to love our enemies. Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who mistreat you. If you love those who love you, what credit is that to you, even sinners love those who love them. Luke chapter 6, verses 27, 28 and 32.

Christians of Kigali archdiocese, I am asking you to desist from doing anything that may divide you. You should be Rwandans who understand that their brotherhood comes from God, the Father of all us, and besides, we are all Rwandans and must share good and bad. As specified in the *communiqué* of catholic bishops made public yesterday, I implore the Government of Rwanda and RPF-*Inkotanyi* to stop the war and conflict now destroying our country. Those who resumed combat should bear in mind that the attacks have led to

hostilities between Hutus and Tutsis, between Abakigas and Abanyandugas and between the various political parties, up to the extent of spilling blood. If RPF-*Inkotanyi* and the Government of Rwanda wish to avoid being responsible for the destruction of the country and for the blood of Rwandans that continues bleed, they should come back to reason and stop venting their courage, in the interest of those dying or those spending the night in difficult conditions. The flow of blood is not a means to the democracy so desired by all Rwandans. Our ancestors passed on wisdom to us in this proverb: "Unity is strength". This is why RPF-*Inkotanyi* and the Government of Rwanda must meet without delay and without any form of process in order to quickly adopt a strategy to set up broad based transitional institutions. It is in this manner that peace will be restored, the peace long-awaited by Rwandans, both within and outside the country.

Christians of Kigali archdiocese, I am asking you to abide by the love which Jesus passed on to us. Help those who come to you for assistance and work together to do away with bad and embrace good. Let us unite and ask God for forgiveness for the sins we have committed. God does not allow misfortune to gain ground among those who humble themselves before him. I thank, in particular, priests, the religious and all those who made great efforts to assist those who came to them for help.

Christians of Kigali archdiocese do not sway in the battle fought by those who hope and believe in Christ. May the Lord deliver you from the difficulties you are encountering and may he be our salvation. May God bless you.

*Speaker: Unidentified*

The meeting of the security council brought together Laurent Bucyibaruta and Jean Baptiste Babyarimana, *préfets* of Gikongoro and Butare respectively, including the Commander of Butare-Gikongoro military sector as well as the Commander of Gikongoro squad. There was one agenda item only, namely assessment of the security situation in the *communes* of the two border *prefectures* and define measures to be taken in order ensure security. The meeting noted that, in general, there was no security, as it had been disrupted by the ethnic conflict in Nshili, Mubuga, Rwamiko, Nyamagabe, Kinyamakara

and Rukondo of Gikongoro *communes*. The conflict was spilling over to Nyakizu, Maraba, Ruhashya and Nyabisindu of Butare *communes* because many refugees sought refuge in those *communes*.

The authorities participating in the meeting dealing on the conflicts drew attention to members of the population who were grappling with hunger and thus resorted to reprehensible acts of killing, arson, looting and plundering. For these reasons, the meeting requested the Government and administrative authorities of the *prefectures* to make all efforts to restore security immediately. It was in this context that the meeting took the following decisions:

1. The prefectorial, communal and *secteur* administrations must hasten to organize meetings of pacification in the conflict *communes*;
2. Anyone with authorization justifying his or her movement for the purpose of work is not authorized to move freely in a *secteur* other than theirs. The population is asked not to form gatherings. Refugees should stay in the camps where they are received.
3. Leaders of *communes* and *secteurs* must assist members of the population to adopt strategies so as to check attacks from trouble-shooters and criminals hiding among them, by organizing patrols and erecting roadblocks;
4. Members of the public must avoid rumour mongering and must be careful of the information diffused by all radio stations;
5. The administrative authorities must arrest rumour-mongers;
6. Members of the population must inform the authorities on people illegally possessing military weapons and must bear in mind that the population is the first to suffer the harmful consequences if such people are not exposed;
7. Law enforcement agents, especially the national armed forces, the prosecutor's office and communal administration, are required to legally use their authority to crack down on acts of violence anywhere they are committed;
8. The meeting requested the Government to make all efforts to re-establish the telephone network.

9. The meeting seized the opportunity to request the Government and relief organizations to assist, without delay, the starving population and Burundian refugees who are without assistance as well as those displaced from their property over last days.

This is Radio Rwanda transmitting to Ki... Music.

*(to be continued: original French)*

*Speaker: Radio Rwanda journalist*

... Mrs Mukarutamu have before her some leaders of the political parties participating in the current government:

*Speaker: Mukarutamu, Radio Rwanda journalist*

Ladies and Gentlemen, audiences of Radio Rwanda, I will present the main issue to you shortly and we will, as expected, talk about the war, the so-called October war triggered off by RPF for which Rwandans continues to show great displeasure.

With us here are Mathieu Ngirumpatse, MRND Chairman, Donat Murego, MDR National Secretary, Justin Mugenzi, PL Chairman and Rafifki Yacinthe Nsengiyumva, member of PSD national bureau.

We are going to talk about the war, its causes, its development, the responsibilities everyone and we are going to start with the background of the war; what are the causes of the war...(inaudible) I wish to remind our listeners that Donat Murego is an historian in addition to being a politician. We will therefore talk about the causes of the war.

*Speaker: Donat Murego*

This extremely serious problem of war is worth talking about as a topic in this occasion. In particular, political leaders should say something about it. We cannot exhaustively analyse the war and the phenomena of the current war. However, certain aspects should be (inaudible) starting with the background, the identification of the causes of the war, as the topic indicates. In my opinion, the war was as a result a deliberate desire of Rwandan refugees outside Rwanda on the one hand, and due to the revolution of October 1959, on the other.

I believe that when they left Rwanda, it was not because of the revolution only, but especially the consequences of the 1959 revolution, and particularly because of the desire of the people to be free, to be involved in a democratic system. Those who fled the country, therefore, did not really change their mentality. A mentality which in 1959, a witness, before a Belgian working group assigned to clarify the prevailing situation in 1959, called an extreme racist mentality where the race as utilized is more or less identical to the understanding of the term by Rwandans. That race continued with the same

thought and appeared to have educated their children in that line of thought that the race is destined to govern like their fathers did.

If we admit that this spirit of domination has endured and has been embedded in the mentalities of those who were no longer in Rwanda, but are still Rwandans, it is normal and understandable that they would desire to take back power in their country of origin by virtue of their parents' origin.

In this regard, we understand the various publications which prepared the refugees or in any case, a significant group of these refugees was won over by the mentality to take back power from those holding the power... Therefore, one of the causes and it is the main cause, is the desire for total domination through a new conquest by those who today are called the *Inkotanyi*.

The second reason is the perception that they had outside the country, that is, the imminent realities in the country.

Through inadequate negative analysis, it was believed that the people of Rwanda were under tyranny and that they should be liberated and democracy should be introduced. Today, it appears that the falsehood that prevailed among the Rwandan rulers before 1959 has resurfaced among their descendants. They deceived the world and the international opinion. They also proclaimed before national opinion that their objective was to bring democracy to Rwanda. Let us recall that their parents fled from democracy. As such, the issue that arises today is: what democracy is it about when it involves taking up arms and imposing oneself through conquest. In this regard, talking of democracy means nothing; we can see clearly, democracy does not divide, democracy unifies, democracy must be an indicator of peace among those who accept it.

I believe that the people of Rwanda free as from 1959 had accepted the principle to make real their concept of a democratised country where the majority defines a general line of conduct. In democracy, the winner, for instance, of elections calls on others to join. What



remains is for others to try, in group interest, to improve the system for another handover of power.

Armed struggle.

The third reason for the war, apart from rejecting the realities, I believe that there is a selfish spirit among the leaders of RPF. This type of selfishness is not surprising. Adventurers always existed and for them all means are good. They have chosen to take up arms. That does not mean that all those who claim to have enrolled with RPF necessarily agree with the objective; I mean that there are still people among them who see clearly arms and they know what they want. However, once they accumulate enough strength they compel others to follow their objective. I do not believe that, as at present, everyone in RPF, not to talk of refugees, in general, agree with these massacres.

The war, triggered off by adventurers, killers and assassins of the people of Rwanda, has greatly wronged the Rwandan society as well as patriotic Rwandans, but in particular, it has greatly wronged those who consider themselves as Tutsis.

*Speaker: Mukarutamu, Radio Rwanda journalist*

Thank you Doctor, earlier, I was saying, you are right to stress, to stress again that Rwandans are greatly displeased with the war, regardless of their ethnic group. Perhaps, we will come back to that, but what interest me more is one of the causes that you mentioned, in fact, there was no change of mentalities. These Tutsi refugees have come back (inaudible) RPF, and as you explained, I may ask the PL Chairman, how would you explain the fact that after a generation, at least at the beginning of the war, Rwandans did not understand that there was no change of mentality among the descendants of the 195.. refugees?

## **SIDE B**

*Speaker: Justin Mugenzi, PL Chairman*

People have come to understand that it was the new generation of refugees that came back for power conquest. It was said at the time, it was sung on the radio and people

understood what these people wanted (inaudible)? This is not in any manner a blackmail, but many people understood what I can affirm, many people understood that the objective was to take back power and upon the creation of political parties in 1991, that is, nine months after the outbreak of the war, the political parties strived to answer this question. They did so in various manners, but the objective was the same, namely find a modus vivendi with these people. They wanted to dominate the political parties; the people of Rwanda who expressed themselves through the political parties have understood that total domination was no longer possible. That neither the Hutu can impose his domination over the Tutsi and the Tutsi also should not try impose his domination, and if we must find a solution, we must do so by democratic means; dictatorship is over. It is resolved. We must go through democratic means and in democracy it is majority that counts. Democracy relies on people, which almost all political parties accept. A negotiated solution to share power can be conducted. That was the spirit that guided the negotiations held in Arusha during the entire year. Therefore, we really understood, the Rwandan people really understood RPF intentions. They really understood the intentions of the former refugees or the descendants of the refugees, but did not want to turn down their request point blank. The Rwandan people simply said yes, if you want to participate in the management of the country, come and share with others, but no to sole management! What more, RPF wanted to impose itself, but the other group made up of 90 over 100% majority or almost the entire population of Rwanda have never experienced absolute power because you cannot say that you seek democracy, you cannot say that the 1959 revolution was initiated to impose, to install a true democracy in the country and say that you want absolute power. Monopoly and democracy are two incompatible notions.

*Speaker: Radio Rwanda journalist*

Uh... monopoly and democracy, as you said are two incompatible notions and I will go back to the issue that we started with, that is, there was no change of mentality. Ngirumpatse, what is your opinion?

*Speaker: Matayo Ngirumpatse, MRND Chairman*

Uh... Doctor Murego and Minister Mugenzi have given the fundamental causes of the war and they stressed on the absence of change of mentality. I will try to develop the issue based on concrete facts. The main issue must be identified in the history of this country. It is known in the dynastic poem that Rwanda belonged to the Mwami, hence to the Tutsi ethnic group mainly; that other ethnic groups are people who should be secondary contributors in order to make the country function. RADER led us to a culture of superiority complex; that is where there was no change of mentality.

In a country with this type of monarchy, monarchy is considered the best on earth, members of his family or race or ethnic group consider themselves as the best on earth and by attraction the population also consider themselves as the best on earth. My first remark is that these refugees are not adapted, are not adapted to the reception spirit of the country. This will cause them great problems because when they arrived in the country they considered themselves as superior beings. They therefore closed themselves within their culture of family education where they were continuously inculcated the superiority of their culture and possibly of their ethnic group over the others. If they had learnt some lessons outside the country, if they had adapted themselves to the host people, as many refugees did, this mentality would have changed. However, they lived in seclusion because they still believe to be the best in Africa and if not on earth.

Secondly, they claimed that Rwanda shut its doors against them. However, I can testify that as a former ambassador of Rwanda, in 1965 we received directives to invite them to participate in discussions, to integrate them in the Rwandan society. In 1974 when I was in Ethiopia, I came across two refugees working as refugees in the Organization of African Unity. I issued them Rwandan passport due to the new policy. What they did with the passports was that as from 1979, they started to distribute documents in the Organization of African Unity against the Republic of Rwanda, although we had made a gesture by including them in the Rwandan quota. I will take a close example; Mr Masabo who is now making so much agitation in Europe, when I was the Rwandan Ambassador to Germany, he was a regular student carrying Rwandan passport. He left from here and he

was from that group, that was in the multiparty era. He was member of *cellule* committee of Rwandan students in Germany. When he says that Rwanda shut him out, it is all made up. It cannot be accepted. I therefore believe that... this lack of cultural openness, this non-acceptance of the culture of others, the non-declaration, I can say it is the non-declaration of what their objective, let us say, their idea of reconquest. They claimed that it was a problem of refugees; my predecessors stressed that the problem should no longer be discussed. However, as regards this problem, I must recall that in 1989, even in 1990, solution was found, as at the time I was a member of the commission on refugee issues. We discussed with the Government of Rwanda and Ugandans; we were expecting a commission of refugees to visit Rwanda on 28 September 1990; rather they preferred to come with arms. Moreover, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Organization of African Unity visited refugee camps to conduct a census of refugees who wanted to come back. They were told that they preferred war and that the problem of refugees does not ...(inaudible) them. There is therefore an historical environment that favours their lie; they took advantage of, let us say, the advent of democracy throughout the world to try and make their argument accepted. I regret as a lawyer and career diplomat that there is no equal treatment before the international community. You see how a man like the President of Uganda, President Museveni, after six years, seven years, he is told to democratise. He refused and no one raised a finger. Consider what is happening with our neighbours of the south; they killed a democratically elected president; they practically betrayed the second, because it cannot be said that in the assassination of our President, the gunmen did not know that the other was also on board; no one is saying anything. This is disturbing and it encourages these people not to change mentality. I believe that the international community should open its eyes and not continue to hold on to reasons of principles that are not applicable in many situations because if they keep allowing themselves to be submerged by a flood of information, I believe that the international community will lose its sense of judgement.

*Speaker: Agenesta Mukarutamu*

We will now talk about everyone's responsibilities ...(inaudible) as introduction we will talk about the responsibility of the international community since we are still on the

problem of the October war and its causes. I had earlier asked Mugenzi if everyone understood that RPF came with the ruler mentality of its ancestors. I would like to come back to that. I will now ask Nsengiyumva this question. You are a member of PSD party, in principle their coming back (inaudible) will be against your interests. Is that your regret? Observing Kigali, let us take Kigali, with the reactions of people, did you have the impression that we understood in the last minute, I will say, that RPF wanted power absolutely?

*Speaker: Nsengiyumva*

I believe that in my opinion uh... I believe that people understood a little late. Because when the war broke out in 1990, people believed that it was simply refugees who wanted to come back to their native country; coming back, they said that they were shut out, but as the MRND Chairman said, it is not true because all successive regimes always desired that these people should come back, that their compatriots should not suffer outside the country; but their spirit of superiority hindered this movement because they wanted at all costs to come and rule the country; this is not possible because they are a minority. And when they came, they brainwashed the international community. They had people in the country that they left behind in 1959 when they left, as these people remained here. No wrong was done to them and now when they came back they said that they are coming back because the door was shut against them. In reality that was not the case. The national opinion understood that... some people are saying that these people must come back, but that in reality they did not know that behind their coming back there is a kind of power takeover by force. Now, people have started to understand a little late uh... when they were told to come and participate in the government, participate in the management of the country, they did not want to; obviously they did not want to share, they did not want to share power with the majority of the population. And 7 million Rwandans who remained in the country cannot not relinquish power like that to people that they do not know. They claim to be Rwandans because they are children the refugees of 1959. They were told to conduct a census and come back in an appropriate manner. However, they preferred to come like that because their main objective is power conquest by all means, and what are these means? They preferred to take up arms. It was when they rejected negotiation that

people understood that there was a hidden agenda in the idea of their coming back to Rwanda; and that was war. Now, I believe that the entire population is aware of RPF desire ... interest in our country. Since they do not even want to negotiate, they do not want peace, they want to take power by all means and the only means that they have chosen is war, arms.

*Speaker: Agenesta Mukarutamu, Radio Rwanda journalist*

Arms. They even went a little too far with that... I believe that the chaos that we are experiencing uh... the measures that will stem from the entire process; we will focus on that to talk of the development of the conflict, therefore the October war. Regarding the October war, you cannot make any statement without development, without mentioning Arusha. For long people have been talking of a fool's bargain in Arusha. If you allow me, this question is to Mathieu Ngirumpatse who as a lawyer uh... will tell us about the Arusha negotiations. If you like, is the current situation not the result of the negotiations regarding which it was said that it was a fool's bargain?

*Speaker: Ngirumpatsi*

Yes, of course, I was very embarrassed by the fact that our party always denounced some of the provisions of the Arusha Accords. However, there were no bad intentions. Just that the Arusha Accords as concluded allowed the Patriotic Front to take over power free. Without struggle. Democratic of course, like Doctor Murego stressed, I understand as a lawyer, like you said, there is no perfect Accord; there are always inaccuracies, but where the problem became disturbing with disproportionate dimensions or extreme proportions is that we had discussed these issues, the problem of the Arusha Accords, when the Patriotic Front revealed its true intentions. The Accord is the work of men, it can be modified if men so desire; indeed, the ideas of men and their opinion remain theirs. They are the only ones to change them. So the Accord became suspicious, more than suspicious because they had, considering the individuals in the country, counted on so many seats in the National Assembly, so many positions in the government and to them power was in their hands. However, when people changed their opinion, they no longer accepted the Accords. In reality, nothing changed. No party was added to the Accords, no party was

withdrawn, but so many calculations had been made and since there was change of opinion among certain political parties or among some prominent people, naturally, the calculations became baseless.

Uh... the Accord in itself, as I said, it is an Accord with inaccuracies like any other accord. However, in this case, where it may be dangerous, and I prefer to be frank, when people claim that there are no ethnic groups in this country and that there is an outcry not to indicate ethnic group in the identity card, that is okay, one has to start from somewhere but that will not remove the problem. It is a kind of veneer before the eyes of men, but that does not remove the problem. When you take 10% of the population and allocate 40% of the strength of the armed forces to it, you believe that you have resolved the problem, but people should go and see what is happening within RPF. They claim that it is an army composed of the two ethnic groups and even the three ethnic groups because once on the television, they presented a Twa from Gikoro who was apparently at ease on the television, but you should count the number of names. As for me, I wish they showed the number of Hutus and Twas in RPF army. People should not be blindfolded. If it is said that it is a mixed army, one may understand. Therefore, the criticism as regards the Accords is not for party interests; it was for national interests, because we know that every party with its size cannot claim such proportion. However, we have seen that with the state of mind of people and the calculation by the Patriotic Front, power will never be in the hands of those who should have it, not even in the hands of the parties which were allocated posts since the posts were a contribution to the Patriotic Front for a take over of power, based on the individuals that the Front had within those parties. The proof is that when the parties decided to send a deputy to the Assembly, someone to the Government, the Patriotic Front started to say that the Accords did not represent anything, just because the people are those that the Patriotic Front did not want.

*Speaker: journalist*

Uh, it was from that moment that things worsened?

*Speaker: Ngirumpatse*

It was from that moment the situation heated up.

*Speaker: Justin Mugenzi*

Yes, as you have just... As you have noticed as regards these people that the implementation of the Arusha Accords came up against a stumbling block.

Yes, like Ngirumpaste has just explained, the Arusha Accords could be implemented but (inaudible) the goodwill of everyone.

Although it seemed to us that in negotiating the Arusha Accords people had their plans about those who should implement and execute a kind of policy that will result in the total domination mentioned earlier by Murengo.

Then, why did it fail altogether? The reason is that, in the implementation, RPF monitored what was happening in the other parties and tried to interfere, and organize cards in its manner to serve its interests, but this did not work out because the other political parties did not accept the idea. This is where we are saying that the Arusha Accords were not really a fool's bargain like some people claim. However, if the implementation was really monitored to ensure that it was implemented to the letter, we could have come up with something on which to lay the first foundation, the first of a shared democracy, a shared power with the hope of giving back power to the people so that the people can place power in the hands of people of their choice. That is the sense of democracy and that is the objective of the Arusha Accords. It meant saying "Gentlemen stop fighting. You are all fighting for power. In the end, power belongs to the people. That is a system that allows for people's consultation when the sound of gunfire are silent, that is a system that leads to people's consultation and from the people, you would know who legally holds power where (inaudible) power".

RPF could not accept this reasoning. RPF could not accept this reasoning and this is where people were very optimistic when they signed the Arusha Accord. RPF could not accept that it should be implemented integrally because it did not serve its purpose.

*Speaker: journalist*

Even then, it was given more than was necessary?



*Speaker: Mugenzi*

RPF was given more than was necessary, but following the installation of the institutions, it was not given the opportunity to dominate. It is for this reason that it used various tricks and finally, it had enough. It cracked and the events of the previous week spoke for themselves.

*Speaker: Journalist*

What do you have to say Nsengiyumva?

*Speaker: Nsengiyumva*

Yes, thank you madam. I do not believe that the bargain uh that the Arusha Accords constituted a fool's bargain as some claimed; far from that. The Arusha Accords stemmed from negotiations, and in the negotiations, the negotiating parties made concessions. The negotiations led to the Arusha Accords. Why the Arusha Accords? For me, the two parties, especially the government accepted to sign the Accords because it was necessary in order to end the war, absolutely! Since all Rwandans were tired, there was a desire for these people to come back. We made concessions, we gave them more that was necessary. As for them, in their calculations, as everyone noticed, they had hidden agenda. They said it was good the Arusha Accord was signed, so it was time to identify men uh... people among the signatory parties to the Arusha Accord. It was this calculation that did not work out. They failed at that level. They neglected time factor; with the time it took to implement the Accords, there was a development of mentalities.

*Speaker: Journalist*

... to sign the Peace Accord, the time it took to negotiate the signing?

*Speaker: Nsengiyumva*

Yes, there was development of mentality. With time, people became aware of the danger that loomed and when they rejected the calculations, so they did not tag along with RPF agenda in the implementation of the Accord, in the setting of the institutions. Now RPF is

ware that it will never attain its objectives of conquering entire or majority power. You may recall madam that it was after the signing of the Arusha Agreement that the parties started to split up. Well before the signing there were no splits among the parties. Everyone believed in the goodwill of RPF. Now that people are aware that there are defects in the Arusha Accords, people have started to show concern and worries in their parties.

That was when the splitting up of the parties started; almost all the political parties, starting with PL.

*Journalist:*

Break up

- Starting with MDR, PSD as well, it was not a break up uh... it was not externalised, but there were two groups.

A group was for RPF and the other that was aware of the danger, which some people, the gossip call power; power movements.

*Speaker: journalist*

Doctor Murego?

*Speaker: Doctor Murego*

Thank you Madam

**End of Side B**

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